T E L E<sub>No Objection To Declassification in Full 2011/04/29 : LOC-HAK-183-4-21-1</sub>

**"NCLASSIFIED** 

AMEMBASSY BONN

PP RUFHOL
DE RUEHC #3770/1 1922114
ZNR UUUUU ZZH
P 112048Z JUL 75 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 1

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## PRIORITY

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY 1152 BT UNCLAS STATE 1637

STATE 163770 TOSEC 060110

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TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: TRAVELLING PRÉSS REPORTAGE, FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 11

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM FUNSETH, S/PRS NO. 7

SUMMARY: ALL REPORTS FOCUS ON SALT PROBLEMS AND HAK MEETINGS WITH FM GROMYKO. HEADLINES VARY FROM "TALKS REPORTED IN PERIL" (NYT) THROUGH "KISSINGER ISN'T EXPECTING BREAKTHROUGH" (WSJ) TO "KISSINGER SEES GAINS" (WASHPOST). END SUMMARY

PAPERS -

1. NYTIMES -- LEWIS LEADS WITH REPORT THAT SALT HAS ENCOUNTERED SERIOUS TROUBLE. TRAVELLERS "WERE TOLD THAT THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO COUNT SOVIET MULTI-WARHEAD MISSILES MAY BE INSOLUBLE." IF PROBLEM NOT SOLVED, BREZHNEV VISIT MAY BE CANCELED, OR SUMMIT COULD BE HELD WITHOUT SALT SIGNING. THREE ITEMS REMAIN TO SOLVE: VERIFICATION, CRUISE AND BACKFIRE. IT IS UP TO THE SOVIETS TO PROPOSE COUNTING METHOD ACCEPTABLE, BUT GROMY NOT PROBABLY NOT BRINGING PRECISE PLANS, LEADING TO A HAK TRIP TO MOSCOW TO DISCUSS QUESTIONS WITH BREZHNEV.

REMAINDER OF ARTICLE RELATES PREPCON TALKS IN PARIS. MINTOFF STANDOFF ACSCE, AND FURTHER TALKS WITH GROMYKO ON

ME PEACE SEARCH. NEWSMEN WERE TOLD NO FURTHER PROGRESS COULD BE MADE IN ME UNTIL HAK SAW RABIN AND RABIN SAW CABINET. "NO FORMAL PROPOSAL HAS YET BEEN SENT TO CAIRO, THE NEWSMEN ON THE HAK PLANE WERE TOLD. HAK, THEY WERE TOLD, HAS BOTH THE EGYPTIAN AND AMERICAN CLARIFICATIONS OF A NEW INTERIM DISENGAGEMENT PLAN TO PRESENT TO MR. RABIN, AND ISRAEL WILL ONLY MAKE AN OFFER TO SUBMIT TO CAIRO AFTERWARD." REPORTERS TOLD HAK CONFIDENT THAT SADAT COULD DECIDE BEFORE UNEF MANDATE EXPIRES ON JULY 24; ACTUAL SIGNING OF AGREEMENT WOULD TAKE LONGER.

2. WSJOURNAL - KEATLEY SAYS HAK ISN'T EXPECTING ANY MAJOR NEW DECISIONS ON SALT, BUT HE HOPES TALKS WITH GROMYKO WILL MOVE TWO SIDES CLOSER ON THREE ISSUES. BASIC DECISIONS WILL NOT BE MADE UNTIL PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY BREZHNEV "MEET AT A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE EXPECTED IN A FEW WEEKS IN FINLAND."

IF AGREEMENT IMPOSSIBLE, DETENTE WILL SUFFER SETBACK. SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL RANKED THREE PROBLEMS AS 1)

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Page Control 2144 UMCLASSIFIED AMEMBASSY BONN VERIFICATION, 2) CRUISE MISSILES. AND 3) BACKFIRE. "THE SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAID A SALT II AGREEMENT REMAINS IMPOSSIBLE UNTIL THE SOVIETS EITHER ACCEPT THE U.S. COUNTING PROPOSAL OR DEVISE A TRUSTWORTHY ALTERNATIVE. ANY ALTERNATIVE WOULD HAVE TO BE FOOLPROOF" BECAUSE SEVERAL SENATORS (JACKSON, GOLDWATER, ETC.) DISTRUST HAK'S SALT EFFORTS. HAK LET IT BE KNOWN THAT HE EXPECTED REACTIONS FROM GROMYKO, BUT NO DECISIONS, WHICH CAN ONLY COME FROM BREZHNEV.

WASHPOST - BERGER CITES HAK THAT "SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE" ON SALT. AND GOOD PROGRESS ON ITBT. REPORTERS TOLD ON-SITE INSPECTION BEING SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED. SALT PROBLEMS (AS ABOVE) LISTED. "IT HAS GENERALLY BEEN ANTICIPATED THAT A SUMMIT SESSION WOULD BE HELD ONLY IF A SALT AGREEMENT IS COMPLETED. BUT SOVIET OFFICIALS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THIS COULD OCCUR EVEN WITHOUT SALT. KISSINGER, WHEN HE MET WITH GROMYKO HERE, TOLD REPORTERS. "THERE WILL BE AN AGREEMENT SO THE PROBLEM WON'T ARISE." HUMOR AT BEGINNING OF MEETING REPORTED TOO: "INSIDE, KISSINGER INTRODUCED COLUMNIST ART BUCHWALD TO THE SOVIET FM. 'HE IS KINDER TO YOU THAN TO ME, KISSINGER REMARKED." REMAINDER OF ARTICLE DEALS WITH TALKS IN PARIS ON OIL. ETC.

## WIRES:

REUTERS - DALLAS REPORTS MEETING IN NIGHTCLUB/BAR WHERE HAK AND GROMYKO DISCUSSED THREE SALT PROBLEMS. AND HAK EXPECTED TO EXPLAIN STEP-BY-STEP EFFORTS. SENIOR U.S.

OFFICIAL CITED THAT RABIN WOULD GET CLARIFICATION FROM U.S. AND EGYPT. AFTER WHICH CABINET MEETING WOULD MAKE FINAL PROPOSAL FOR U.S. TO OFFER EGYPT.

- UPI GROWALD CITES HAK ON PROGRESS BEING MADE. REPORTS HAK AND GROMYKO MEETING AGAIN, IN "THE CARNIVAL BAR" TO NAIL DOWN DETAILS ON SALT.
- AP SCHWEID SAYS TALKS RESUMING ON SALT, WITH ME PEACE SEARCH NEXT ON LIST. WORD CAME FROM CSCE NEARBY ON MINTOFF STANDOFF, BUT WHILE BOTH HAK AND GROMYKO FAVOR JUL 30 SUMMIT, THEY HAD NO IMMEDIATE COMMENT.

## **NETWORKS:**

7. NBC - VALERIANI: THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION AGREED LAST NOVEMBER ON THE CEILINGS FOR THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS. BUT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO AGREE ON WHICH WEAPONS TO COUNT AS STRATEGIC NOR HOW TO MAKE SURE THEY ARE COUNTED ACCURATELY BY THE OTHER SIDE. COUNTING AND VERIFICATION PROBLEMS ARE TREMENDOUSLY COMPLICATED AND TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR THEM TO BE SOLVED IF THERE IS TO BE A NEW ARMS AGREEMENT READY FOR SIGNING BUT IF GROMYKO AND HAK FAIL TO MAKE MUCH THIS FALL. PROGRESS HERE PRESIDENT FORD AND SOVIET LEADER BREZHNEV WILL THEMSELVES HAVE A CHANCE TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK WHEN THEY GET TOGETHER IN HELSINKI. AND FOR THE FIRST

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TIME A SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL HAS BEGUN HINTING THAT A
FORD/BREZHNEV SUMMIT MIGHT TAKE PLACE IN WASHINGTON IN
OCTOBER EVEN IF ANOTHER ARMS AGREEMENT IS NOT REACHED BY

THEN.

8. CBS - KALB: DANCING, DINNER, 'LA CARNAVAL' RESTAURANT AND BAR - SO READ THE POSTERS FOR THIS EIGHTEEN FLOOR NIGHTCLUB IN A GENEVA HOTEL. WHAT THE POSTERS DON'T SAY IS THAT 'LA CARNAVAL' IS THE ONLY LARGE AIR CON-DITIONED ROOM IN THE HOTEL WHERE HAK IS STAYING. AND

SINCE GENEVA IS IN THE MIDST OF A GREAT WAVE, THE SECRETARY DECIDED TO CONTINUE HIS TALKS WITH GROMYKO IN A COOL NIGHT CLUB, TALKS THAT FOCUS THIS MORNING ON THE ME, BUT WILL ALSO CONTINUE THE THEME OF THEIR SEVEN HOUR MEETING LAST NIGHT WHICH WAS ON BREAKING THE DEADLOCK ON ANOTHER STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT. THE DEADLOCK CAUSED BY DIFFERENT ESTIMATES OF VERIFICATION, NAMELY HOW EACH SIDE CAN CHECK ON HOW MANY LONG-RANGE MISSILES THE OTHER SIDE CLAIMS TO HAVE. KISSINGER SAID THERE WAS PROGRESS, BUT HE DIDN'T CLAIM THE DEADLOCK WAS BROKEN. ON A RELATED NEGOTIATION FOR A SO-CALLED THRESHOLD NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY, THE RUSSIANS HAVE FINALLY ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF ARMS SITE INSPECTION, FOR SOME

PEACEFUL NUCLEAR TESTS ABOVE THE RANGE OF 150 KILOTONS. HAK LEAVES LATER TODAY FOR BONN, WHERE HE MEETS WITH WEST GERMAN LEADERS AND TOMORROW MORNING, WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER RABIN.

LATE ITEM: GROWALD, UPI, GENEVA: "WE'LL NEVER KNOW." HENRY KISSINGER BLINKED.
MARVIN KALB OF CBS, RICHARD VALERIANI OF NBC AND HERBERT KAPLOW OF ABC LOOKED AT THEIR WATCHES AND SMILED A BIT WEAKLY.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD ARRIVED A HALF-HOUR EARLY AT PARIS' ORLY AIRPORT THURSDAY FOR A FLIGHT TO GENEVA. HE HAD A FAREWELL-TO-FRANCE STATEMENT TO READ TO THE TELEVISION CAMERAS, BUT THERE WEREN'T ANY.

IT WASN'T GOOD NEWS TO A SECRETARY OF STATE WHO REGARDS TELEVISION IMPACT AS A DIPLOMATIC TOOL.

KALB FELT AN EXPLANATION WAS DUE. HE TOLD KISSINGER THE TELEVISION CAMERAMEN MIGHT HAVE BEEN CAUGHT IN ONE OF THOSE LEGENDARY PARISIAN TRAFFIC JAMS. KISSINGER NODDED.

NOBODY, OF COURSE, MENTIONED THAT KISSINGER ISN'T EXACTLY NOTED FOR EARLY ARRIVALS.

FRANCE'S FOREIGN MINISTER, JEAN SAUVAGNARGUES, TOUCHED HIS MUSTACHE AND RAISED A HAND. "PERHAPS, YOU MIGHT CARE TO TALK TO YOUR COLLEAGUES," HE TOLD KISSINGER.

HE LED KISSINGER BY THE ARM INTO A SIDE ROOM .

T E L E G R A M I N C O M I N G

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SEVENTEEN MINUTES LATER, KISSINGER AND SAUVAGNARGUES EMERGED FROM THE SIDE ROOM, TIRED OF WAITING FOR THE CAMERA CREWS TO SHOW UP.

THE SECRETARY GRINNED AT THE CAMERA-LESS TELEVISION NEWSMEN.

"I HOPE YOU KNOW THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND I SAVED OUR BEST STATEMENTS AND NOW YOU WILL NEVER KNOW," HE SAID AND MARCHED TO HIS PLANE AND FLEW AWAY.

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